

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-11 CCO-00 SSO-00 /027 R

DRAFTED BY P:JJSISCO/NEA:SSOBER:LAB

APPROVED BY P:JJSISCO

IO:DTOUSSAINT

S/S :APSHANKLE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 038230 TOSEC 040035

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNSC, XF

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - PROPOSED RESPONSE TO
WALDHEIM LETTER (S/S NO. 7603361)
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SISCO

1. THE PROBLEM.

YOU HAVE IN YOUR MATERIAL A SUGGESTED REPLY (7602155) TO
THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S LETTER OF JANUARY 27 TO THE TWO
CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. GUYER OF THE
SECRETARIAT INFORMED ME THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE REPLIED AND
THAT SECRETARIAT MUST AT THE LATEST TOMORROW MAKE PUBLIC
THE SYG'S LETTER TO THE U.S. AND THE USSR AS WELL AS THE
SOVIET REPLY. WHILE THIS IS NOT A MAJOR MATTER, IT WOULD
BE WELL IF WEDNESDAY THE SECRETARIAT COULD PUBLISH OUR OWN
LETTER MORE OR LESS SIMULTANEOUSLY.

GUYER WAS NICE ENOUGH TO TELL ME THE CONTENTS OF THE
SOVIETS LETTER WHICH AS YOU CAN SURMISE IS PROPAGANDISTIC.
IT EMPHASIZES THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

OTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL;
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-- RESTORATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS;

-- BLAMES ISRAEL AND "THOSE WHO SUPPORT IT" FOR THE DEADLOCK;

-- CRITICIZES THE RECENT U.S. SECURITY COUNCIL VETO.

THE OPERATIVE PART CALLS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE PLO.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, IT SEEMS DESIRABLE TO SEND MORE OF A SUBSTANTIVE REPLY THAN EARLIER SUGGESTED TO YOU. WE HAVE MADE SOME ADDITIONS TO THE LATTER PORTION OF YOUR SUGGESTED REPLY, THE PROPOSED NEW FULL TEXT OF WHICH IS GIVEN BELOW.

IF YOU AGREE WITH THIS TEXT, I NEED YOUR GO-AHEAD FOR US TO HAVE IT DELIVERED PROMPTLY TO SECRETARY GENERAL ON YOUR BEHALF SO IT MAY BE PUBLISHED ON FEBRUARY 18.

2. PROPOSED TEXT:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL:

I HAVE YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 28, SENT TO ME IN MY CAPACITY AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST. AS YOU KNOW, I ALWAYS APPRECIATE HAVING YOUR VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN THE AREA.

YOU CAN BE SURE THAT I SHARE YOUR SENSE OF THE URGENCY OF PURSUING THE GOAL OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. OUR JUST CONCLUDED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL, MR. RABIN, HAVE BEEN HELPFUL IN OUR CONSIDERATION OF FURTHER DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY, AND WE EXPECT TO BE CONSULTING WITH ALL THE PARTIES IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT STAGNATION IS ACCEPTABLE OR INEVITABLE. WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE
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OUR EFFORTS TOWARD MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS.

WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANCE OF FURTHER PROGRESS IF THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK, PAINFULLY ERECTED OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS, WERE DISRUPTED. THIS FRAMEWORK, ERECTED FUNDAMENTALLY AROUND RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, IS SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE, AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY

NOTED, THAT IT CAN PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR WORKING OUT FAIR AND DURABLE SOLUTIONS TO ALL OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED, INCLUDING THE ISSUES OF WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, OF THE TERMINATION OF STATES OR CLAIMS OF BELLIGERENCY, OF RECIPROCAL OBLIGATIONS TO PEACE, AND OF THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES. AS YOU ARE AWARE, THE U.S. HAS ALSO REPEATEDLY AFFIRMED ITS RECOGNITION THAT THERE WILL BE NO PERMANENT PEACE UNLESS IT INCLUDES ARRANGEMENTS THAT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR A DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE PARTICULAR PROCEDURES THROUGH WHICH THE MOMENTUM OF PRACTICAL PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS MAY BE MAINTAINED. WE HAVE AGREED THAT A RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE AFTER CAREFUL PREPARATION WOULD SERVE THE GOAL OF ACHIEVING SUCH PROGRESS. AS A PRACTICAL WAY OF PROCEEDING, WE HAVE PROPOSED A PREPARATORY CONFERENCE OF THOSE WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED SO FAR IN NEGOTIATIONS LOOKING TOWARD A SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FRAMEWORK. THE U.S. IS ALSO PREPARED TO CONSIDER HOLDING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE USSR IN ADVANCE OF SUCH A PREPARATORY CONFERENCE.

I WILL KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YOU AS OUR EFFORTS PROCEED.

WITH WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.

3. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE ABOVE TEXT.
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APPROVE DISAPPROVE

4. DRAFTED: P:JJSISCO/NEA:SSOBER
CLEARED: IO:DTOUSSAINT, S/S

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, PEACE TALKS
Control Number: S7603361
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE038230
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JJSISCO/NEA:SSOBER:LAB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760059-0679
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760239/aaaabhmy.tel
Line Count: 161
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <10 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM - PROPOSED RESPONSE TO WALDHEIM LETTER (S/S NO. 7603361)
TAGS: PFOR, XF, UR, US, UNSC, (WALDHEIM, KURT)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006